2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

ing of a picture or shaping of a figure was foreign to the native mind. Even conventionalized symbols were lacking, for conventionalization is a standardization of some artistic impulse, and this impulse never manifested itself. The stiff figures of men and animals that occasionally appear on baskets are invariably due to American influence, among the Yokuts as well as among all other Californian groups. One can not have become imbued with a feeling for the decorative value of California basketry without resenting these childish introductions as fatal to the inherent aesthetic qualities of the work. Our tastes have been infinitely more cultivated than those of the native Californian; but in the few directions, or one direction, in which he had made an incipient progress in ornamentation, his habits had poise and restraint.

The ungraphic, unplastic, and unsymbolic character of native Californian civilization is complete to a degree that is almost inconceivable. It is only rarely that an Indian can be induced to draw in the sand the most schematic sketch of the rivers or mountains of his habitat. In southern California there are indeed some faint stirrings in the sand paintings, but only under a strong ritualistic motive; and the poverty and rudeness of these, compared with their Navaho and Pueblo prototypes, reveal the aridity of the artistic soil which this southwestern religio-aesthetic influence encountered in its invasion of California.

In all the remainder of the State even this trace is wanting. For once the deep cleavage between the northwest and the central south is effaced. The Yurok and Hupa culture may be a North Pacific coast civilization in nine-tenths of its essential impulses and goals; in representative art it is as Californian as that of the Maidu or Yokuts.

How far some beginnings of literary form have evolved in Yokuts traditions, in comparison with those of their neighbors, it would be difficult to state. The languages, the emotions, and the pleasures of the natives are everywhere known with too little intimacy for a judgment to be of value. Myths have been recorded primarily with reference to their episodic content, their religious associations, or their systematic coherence. Such as are available from the Yokuts evince a lower literary pitch, a less intensity of presentation, than those of northern and southern California at their best. But we do not know how far they are artistically representative; and what has already been said about the animal pantheon of these people suffices to reveal that the real merits of their folklore lie implicit in a background or setting of which the skeletonized translations that are available give to us but rudimentary hints.

Apparently the number of repetitions made depends upon the singer's disposition and the context of the song, while the order of phrases is fixed by convention. In Professor Kroeber's early transcriptions the bulk of the songs were a few to several syllables longer than the 1940 and 1957 recordings. While the earlier songs sometimes contained up to eight or ten phrases totaling as many as eighty syllables, there was not a single long song found in the latter recordings. The Rattlesnake Ceremony Songs from the adjacent Yaudanchi area were particularly long (Kroeber 1907: 363-75). 533

A correlate of the shortness of the songs is their highly allusive character. The personal power song of Dawis Sapagay is given in text. This song refers to a rather elaborate story of how Sapagay was given the power to heal sickness. Sapagay was a very well-known doctor throughout the Tachi area. 538

Dawis Sapagay's Song [539]

palawa na he	palawa na he	"Where will I go in?"
he yeo okonaw	palawa na he	"I will go in (at the place)
yo ke wey na yo ke wa ke wa		where green scum is on the pool."

The story is as follows:

Looking for a doctor who could teach him curing power, Sapagay went to the edge of Wood Lake to find the underwater entrance to the place where the doctor lived. He dove in (at the place where the green scum is), and came up in a cave in which he met the guardians of the doctor. There was a man-sized spider with voracious jaws, and, afterwards, a rattlesnake coiled ready to strike. Last, there was a puma and a bear who tore men to pieces. Sapagay used a kingsnake charm against the spider and the rattlesnake (kingsnakes eat spiders and rattlesnakes), while against the puma and the bear he used a weasel charm which made him small and agile. He thus passed them by. 539 756 [789] [825]

Other songs of this sort are the Heli Heli, the Rattlesnake Ceremony Song, and the Sopas Songs. When the informant was asked to sing the Sapagay Song he did so, and when he was asked about the meaning of the words, he told the entire story quoted in text here. The assumption was that the hearer of the song knew the story to begin with. Also it became apparent that there was no hard-and-fast distinction between the lyrics and the story behind the song. 533 538

There were songs which were fairly self-explanatory: the Handgame Song (#3) involves a bone hidden in one of the hands. The idea of the game is that one player will be singing the goading song while his opponent will try to guess which hand the bone is in. The Morning Song (#7) is simply a description of the morning star. The Rain Song (#8) is sung in the rain-making ceremony. The "thunder rock" (unuk) is partially covered with water by the shaman in order to produce mild rains. If the rock is covered with water, torrential rains will ensue. There were a fairly large number of hand-game songs, mostly similar in rhythm and melody to those which are given. There is certainly more variety and complexity in these than is found in grass-game songs among the Miwok and the more northerly tribes. It is unfortunate that there was not more time to devote to getting the meaning of the words, especially since there is a group of songs in which allusion figures so importantly.

General Considerations

One of the most significant changes in Tachi and Central Valley music in general is related to the roles played by the Indians in the economy of the state. As most of them obtain a large percentage of their income from employment as farm labor, there is a good deal of contact with other Indians, and the picture at the Lemoore reservation is one of a constantly shifting and mobile population. One of the effects of this condition is the exchange of songs. The Tachis sang songs which were identified as Choynimni and Wechihit Yokuts and Mono and Squaw Valley in origin. The Tulare Lake Song (#1) and the Handgame Song (#6) are certainly Yokuts songs, but are not in Tachi dialect. Many of the songs have no English gloss because only a part of the song was understood by the singer. Songs composed entirely of nonsense syllables are absent among the Tachi, and probably in the entire Yokuts area. It should be said that the borrowing of songs is not confined to the San Joaquin Valley in California nor is it a new thing, although it is certain that the tempo of exchange has increased. A sitting-down song sung by a Pomo informant is included; this song is almost identical with a song sung by a Southern Sierra Miwok Indian from near Yosemite a year after the Pomo version was collected. Since the Miwok had died before this writer could get a gloss for the song, it was unknown whether the song was Miwok or Pomo. 533 177 178

With the exchange of songs between people of dissimilar linguistic affiliations it would seem that nonsense syllable songs would be very common. This is not the case with the Tachis in that at least partial, and occasionally incorrect, meanings are known for all the songs. It seems probable that

16:Gayton & Newman L-5 (1930-1931)1940
NS29 Yokuts NS29

[p. 1-A]

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO MYTHS

BY
A. H. GAYTON AND STANLEY S. NEWMAN

PART I. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

128 Since it was not practicable for Newman to present his text myths in full translation at this time we have selected one as representative of the native Yokuts story form. This appears below in 171 complete translation. It is slightly longer than 538 the usual Yokuts tale and has two elements common

[Text continued top of page 1-B.-Analyst]

TYPE MYTH

Condor Steals Falcon's Wife

539 There they were living above Xolmiu (Clover Place) at the foot of this mountain. Their leaders are thinking about their meeting. And Eagle said, "Tell Cougar and Big Eagle and his friend, the large Crow, and their crier, Dove, and Coyote and Falcon and Wolf." And Coyote was sent. Now he is going to assemble the people. "In seven days we will assemble." Now they will be told--Wind and Thunder and Dog too. And Coyote informed them. And Wind said, "Of course I can go anywhere. But tell Thunder. Will he go?" And, "I'm not sure that he can," he added.

And the seven days came. And already all the people were assembling there. And Thunder did not come. The booming noise he makes is useless; he can't walk. And Coyote went to him. And he questioned him. And Thunder said, "I can't go anywhere. Tell my friend and he will come." And Wind went to him. And there he arrived. And he said to him, "What's the matter with you! Aren't you able to walk? Haven't I been telling you, I'll see to it that you will go where they want you? Are you ready to leave now?" he says to him. "Stand up now, and you will speak," he says to him. "Ready?" Wind says to him. "Yes," then says Thunder. "Speak now," he says to him. "Will we go now?" And Thunder spoke. Just as soon as he spoke, the two of them walked off.

And they arrived there immediately. And their leader, Eagle, said to him, "Have you arrived already?" he says to him. And he said to him, "This gathering of ours is certainly a small one. How is that?" Thunder says. "These are important people. I am thinking about our going west," says Eagle. "All the seeds are now getting ripe again." "Good," they say. "But who will go to look them over?" they say. "Antelope," they say. And Antelope said, "In the morning I will go." And he went. And there he arrived. To his surprise, there were a great many seeds. And he took a great many; he placed them in both his feet. And he arrived after sundown.

[Text continued bottom of page 1-B.-Analyst]

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO MYTHS [p. 1-B]

BY

A. H. GAYTON AND STANLEY S. NEWMAN

PART I. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

171 5538 in Great Basin-Plateau mythology: the rock covering of Condor and the rolling skull; otherwise it is a typical example of South Central Californian narrative progression, conversation, action, and incident.[2] The rest of Newman's myths, abstracted, appear under Abstracts and Comparative Notes. [28]

TYPE MYTH

5539 And, as before, Coyote assembled the people. And all the people assembled. A large covering was already spread over the ground. On it he is now going to pour his load. And he poured it. And they said, "There is certainly a lot." And, "Count these important people," they say to Dove. Now they are going to divide it. And each of them took his share. And the unimportant ones took what was left. And all of them were pleased. Having taken their food, all of them will now prepare it. And Falcon's friend, Crow, ate a lot of black seeds. And he turned black. "Well," says their leader, "in seven days we will go."

Now they are going to gather food. And the seven days arrived. And some of them asked their leader, "In how many days will we return?" "In three days." And they said, "There is food enough for our children."

And all the people went. And there they arrived. And they got many seeds. And in three days they returned.

And Falcon probably got a great many. And he said to his wife, "I'll take some of this, and I'll come right back." And his wife was working; she was getting more. And the woman heard him coming. She looks about, but she does not see anything. And Condor alighted close to her. And after alighting he said to her, "Are you the wife of my younger brother?" he says to her. "Is he your younger brother?" she says to him. "Yes," he says. "His name is Tsopnix." And the woman said to him, "What is your name?" she says. "Condor," he says. "So we will go now," Condor says to her. He says to her, "Take off your necklace." Her necklace was money--small beads and big dark beads and small bone beads. And she said, "No," but it was useless. "Why should I?" she says to him. "I'm afraid he'll be angry," she says to him. "No," she says. "We will go now." He took her away by force.

And then Falcon arrived after they had gone. And he couldn't find his wife. And in vain he

[26] [2]Recorded in Yauelmani dialect by Newman.

[P.4-B]

LINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF YOKUTS STYLE

193 which is in the process of transpiring from one that has already taken place and exists only as a resultant state or condition: a fundamental contrast is expressed in "he is walking" as against "he is in a condition subsequent to walking." Such a distinction is pedantic in English. On the other hand, the number category is treated very casually in Yokuts as compared to English. Plurality need not be expressed in most nouns unless there is some special point to it; the form "house" can do the work of referring to the plural as well as the singular.

121 These patterns, however, are merely the potentialities of style. A grammar deals with them directly, describing their forms and their conceptual functions. It is not concerned with the selective tendencies operating in actual usage to favor certain potentialities and to neglect others. It tells what a language can do but not what it considers worthwhile doing. To the native a grammar is always unconvincing, for it ignores the most vital and intimate part of his language--the intricate network of values, of attitudes and expectancies that guides his selection of expressive tools.

It would be a sentimental presumption to suppose that we, as outsiders, can respond significantly to the values locked within the Yokuts language. The values and anticipations that we have developed in our own language will not be satisfied in Yokuts. In spite of this, we can escape our bias to some degree by following the selective trends of Yokuts as manifestations of the stylistic values proper to that language and by examining the manner in which Yokuts arrives at an integrated style through the exploitation of certain of its latent resources and the rejection of others.

195 A striking uniformity of style is to be found
538 in Yokuts, and the personal narratives collected in the field show the same stylistic qualities as the myths and tales. In these stories there is no tendency to indulge in the elaboration of concrete details. The notions expressed remain on
[182] a highly generalized level. This bareness and
[193] simplicity of expression can be traced to a number of grammatical factors. Suffixation is
193 practically the only grammatical technique of Yokuts that augments the meaning of word roots. The addition of a suffix, however, sets in motion a chain of formal operations. Principal among these are the vowel processes: in addition to occasional vowel changes that occur under special conditions, the root vowels undergo constant changes dictated by an intricate system of vowel classes; and the vowels of the suffix itself must then be changed to harmonize with the vowels of the root. To add the durative present -'an, for example, the roots 'e·pi, "swim," and de·yi,

[p.6-B]

192 xapapʻwiyi, "get spread out in a fanlike forma-
196 tion."
no·mno·mwiyi, "make puckering motions in and
out."

192 The stylistic possibilities of these verbs for
195 creating vivid images in a concentrated manner is
obvious; but not so obvious to English feeling,
which delights in flashes of sharp imagery, is
the sense of violence and bizarreness which these
verbs suggest to the Yokuts stylistic conscious-
ness.

193 From the perspective of Yokuts, these verbs
195 are linguistic freaks. Their grammatical form,
as well as their content, is anomalous in the
Yokuts system. These verbs are composed of two
elements, a stem of the verb wiyi, "do, do thus,"
being added to another stem defining the nature
of the activity. The technique of stem composi-
tion, displayed in these "do" verbs, occurs no-
where else in the language. Furthermore, a num-
ber of the "do" verbs, particularly those re-
ferring to specific sounds, contain a stem having
[192] an onomatopoetic force: ga·gwiyi, "cackle,"
tuhwiyi, "spit," ʼuhwiyi, "cough," hikwiyi, "make
a hiccuping sound," niwwiyi, "whistle through the
air." Such mimetic play with sounds is not only
absent elsewhere in the language, but it is out
of keeping with the severe formalism of Yokuts.
In their meanings, in their form, and in their
phonetic mimicry, these verbs seem to be cut to
the pattern of a foreign idiom. They are like
an ornate Byzantine mosaic set in a Calvinistic
church.

192 It is a significant comment on the directive
195 tendencies of historical drift in language that
197 these eccentric "do" verbs have been leveled out
of most of the modern Yokuts dialects. Only a
few petrified noun derivatives are left in these
dialects to indicate that the "do" verbs were
formerly common throughout Yokuts. Only in one
dialect, Yauelmani, have they been found as a
fully operative and productive set of verbs. But
they have a peculiar status in this dialect: they
are regarded as the linguistic property of chil-
124 dren. I did not become aware of this class of
192 verbs until, after two or three weeks of field
195 work, I overheard some remarks which my inform-
ant's eight-year-old son was addressing to him-
self. Only with the greatest difficulty could I
coax my informant to explain the "do" verb which
his child had used and to give me further examples
of this class. It was evident that he regarded
[191] words of this type as being too silly for serious
[88] discussion and totally out of keeping with the
essential sobriety of adulthood. Not until some
time later did he tell me that these words were
used primarily by children. But even after he
had overcome his reluctance to discuss the "do"
verbs, he was never able to treat them seriously.
A spirit of facetiousness always accompanied our
work with them.

195 The myths do not contain many examples of the

195 "do" verbs. As a stylistic device these verbs
539 are limited in their usefulness to contexts where an implication of startling and ludicrous extravagance is appropriate. In the story of Condor and Falcon only two examples occur. The first one describes the ineffectual booming sound made by Thunder in his efforts to move (p. 1), the use of a "do" verb in this case suggesting not only the violence of the noise but its incongruity as coming from so helpless a person as Thunder. In the incident dealing with Crow (p. 1), another "do" verb is employed to refer to his sudden transformation of color. Again the verb adds a touch of characterization, for Crow turns black as a result of stupidly gorging himself with black seeds. Stories dealing with Coyote as a trickster and a dupe offer the most favorable conditions for the use of these verbs. And yet, despite their effectiveness for describing the clownish antics of Coyote, they are not very frequent even in stories of this type. There still remains the feeling that the "do" verbs belong to a lunatic fringe of the language.

171 Something of the same flavor pervades the
195 various sets of reduplicated words in English--"putt-putt" and "toot-toot," "pitter-patter" and "tittle-tattle," "piggy-wiggy" and "ducky-wucky." Like stem composition in Yokuts, reduplication is so exceptional and aberrant in English that it strikes the native form-feeling as a piece of ingenuous frivolity, proper to childish speech and appropriate on an adult level only when a frivolous reference is intended. But the values which color a grammatical technique are relative to the individual patterning of each
[193] language. To reverse the analogy, reduplication is felt as a thoroughly respectable technique in Yokuts, just as stem composition in English, as illustrated in "blackbird" or "noteworthy," has nothing of the outlandish character that it possesses in Yokuts. Even onomatopoeia, whose apparently spontaneous and direct symbolism might be expected to find a universal response, carries a different stylistic tone in the two languages: in Yokuts it is associated only with the eccentric "do" verbs; in English, though it occurs in many of the low-caste reduplicated words, it is also found extensively throughout our vocabulary of image-creating words, such as "clink," "hush," "squeak," "squeal," where it serves to sharpen the vividness and specificity of reference.

193 Words are convenient but arbitrary units by
195 means of which to examine the kinds of notions that a language expresses and the style of its expression. The limits of a word are determined by the morphological factors peculiar to each language, not by any notional criteria. Although Yokuts words, with the notable exception of the "do" verbs, tend to sketch only the bare and generalized outlines of a reference, the language possesses syntactic resources for combining words in such a way that its sentences could attain

[p.8-A]

195 monotonous. Instead of a sentence structure that is varied, that presents smooth contours in passing from one predication to another, the progression is a series of bumps and jerks; statements are made in the abrupt manner of a telegram. The brevity of the sentences suggests a cryptic style, but one searches in vain for evidences of concentrated expression, for latent implications, for subtle metaphors playing beneath the surface of overt meanings. The broadly generalized notions have a literal reference. But the absence of nicety and richness of expression in Yokuts is not the symptom of meager grammatical resources; it is, rather, the result of wilful selective forces within the language, for those resources which are the most powerful for the creation of meanings and for the development of notional complexes in words and in sentences are employed the most sparingly.

But, by the same token, the stylistic features of English cannot appeal to the intuitions of a Yokuts native. To him English must appear erratic, lacking in those qualities of restraint and consistency which he finds in his own language. He will see no uniformity in the pattern of English sentences: some are short, and some are tediously long; some are lucid and immediately comprehensible, and some are so overloaded with subordinated and sub-subordinated notions, with qualifications and involutions of meaning, that the mind is wearied in trying to

[Text continued top of page 8-B.-Analyst]

NARRATIVE STYLE

538 121 It is not that phase of style which concerns itself with "character building," "plot development," "attainment of effects"--so-called "literary style"--which we wish to discuss here. Only an intense intimacy, such as Professor Lowie's with Crow life, language, and narrators,[4] or Dr. Reichard's with the Coeur d'Alêne,[5] would permit comment along those lines. Certainly neither Newman nor myself knows what may be the "literary" goals consciously or unconsciously sought in the telling of a Yokuts tale. The style we are concerned with is that which shows on the face of the stories: what materials are used in tale construction.

538 [182 195 153] [114] The narrative style of Yokuts myths is no less restrained than the grammatical style of Yokuts language. One wonders if thought processes, habituated to precise grammatical forms, conform to an analagous pattern in arranging a series of ideas. The simplicity of the myths in Kroeber's collection was borne out by my own collection made twenty years later, and corroborative testimony is furnished by Newman's group of Dumna and Yaudmani texts.

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[4]The Crow Indians, pp. 105-118.

[5]The Style of Coeur d'Alêne Mythology.

[Text continued bottom of page 8-B.-Analyst]

195 follow the labyrinthine twists and turns. Behind this unevenness of expression there seems to be a strident and feverish energy, obsessed with the need of expressing nuances that could best be left to contextual inference. To the native accustomed to the casual and quiet dignity of Yokuts style, English hammers too insistently upon the sensibilities with its succession of garish images, its interminable sleight-of-hand tricks with meanings that pass through sudden metaphorical changes, its insatiable taste for onomatopoetic mimicry. The language lacks balance and symmetry even in its grammatical system, which is a tangle of sprawling patterns. And English practises no economy in exploiting its motley resources; it draws upon its forms of expression with a prodigal hand.

Each of these appraisals is based upon the use of an irrelevant frame of values. It is no more valid than applying the principles of realistic painting to geometric art. Each language is like a particular art form in that it works with a limited range of materials and pursues the stylistic goals that have been and are constantly being discovered in a collective quest. Yokuts is a type of collective expression that values balance of inner form and restraint in the representation of meanings. In spite of the spurious impression that can hardly be avoided in an English translation, Yokuts is not a peculiar and imperfect kind of English.

NARRATIVE STYLE

538 171 This simplicity or directness is not so marked in the Western Mono myths; they have a tendency to ramble. There is a difference between a series of self-contained episodes which may be amalgamated as a composite myth or remain discrete, and the episode which depends upon a prior action and in turn leads to another. Broadly speaking, the former is Yokuts, the latter Mono, when their tales achieve length. With Yokuts align Lake Miwok and Pomo of the Central California region, and with Mono align Achomawi-Atsugewi, Shasta, and Klamath along the eastern highlands.

538 773 With few exceptions the stories collected are myths in the sense which Boas has defined.[6] They are concerned with persons and events of an era before the appearance of man, when birds, animals, insects, and even plants, were active denizens of this world. There are one or two stories of human beings which are really in the myth category. Such is the tale of the man who followed his wife to the land of the dead. It explains the nature of the afterworld, why the dead cannot be visited, just as other myths explain how land was made or how fire was obtained. The characters have to be

[6]Mythology and Folk-Tales of the Indians of North America, p. 378.

[p. 9-A]

538 773 human: their animal predecessors were immortal or revived by easy means. The other story is that of the Pleiades, the group of discontented young wives who rose to the sky. Both stories are localized by tribe in accordance with the narrator's tribal affinity. Of tales which are believed to record recent historical events, Newman obtained two, one the narrative of an actual war between several tribal groups (which is not included here) and The Gamblers. Gayton recorded two, The Boastful Man and A Bear Transformation. One of Kroeber's tales, The Man and the Owls, appears to have been regarded as an actuality.

[173]

538 178 That mysterious necessity, whether psychic, neurological, or emotional, which makes culture persist, seems more palpably in effect in mythology than in other aspects of culture.[7] There is little or no ritual usage of myths by Yokuts and Mono: out of a world compiled of thousands of objects, acts, and ideas, the narrator is theoretically free to choose his literary materials, yet he persistently tells his story according to traditional form. This observation is an old one, but it can never be overemphasized. And it is recalled here because the stylistic simplicity of Yokuts tales is a case in point. The usual stock-in-trade of North American Indian narrators--the inexhaustible dish, kill-all arrow, life-token, Symplegades, and such--were known to the Yokuts and appear in their tales. But instead of being used frequently, as in Pomo or more extremely as in Northwest Coast myths, they are used sparingly, one in one tale, another in another. Now, this may be narrative restraint, or it may be conforming to tradition, or both. But simplicity is maintained in spite of the possibility for florescence.

[171]

Although ritualistic pressure did not bear upon Yokuts tales, two constraining factors may be noted. The first was the rôle of these myths as traditional lore, that is, sheer historical information. The myths are repeated to the young as historic fact--this was the way land was made, fire was obtained, evil cannibals overcome, and so on. The explanatory element is frequent.[8] This aspect of the myths should necessitate adherence to general plot even though details might be altered or augmented. The second factor, which actually would affect the

[173] [869] [182]

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[24] [7]This "necessity" was manifested individually by a Wobonuch man, who, though consistently refusing to act as an interpreter, always worked near by while his daughter interpreted for my informant. One day he suddenly threw down his ax, strode menacingly toward the young woman, and said, "If you're going to tell it, you tell it right!"

[8]The presence of explanatory elements in myths, however, may not necessarily indicate an etiological motivation (cf. Waterman, The Explanatory Element in the Folk-Tales of the North American Indians).

178 relative importance of characters, rather than
538 plot, is the reflection of social organization in the myths which makes Eagle the chief, Dove his messenger, and Coyote and Cougar influential people.[9] In Newman's text material all these persons are referred to as "the great ones." But again, while holding the characters in place, this factor would not prevent the addition of many minor actors were such elaboration desired.

538 It is conceivable that the constant retelling of certain very popular tales is another phase of the Yokuts trend toward simplicity and restraint: novelty and variety were not sought. Our collection is not sufficiently exhaustive to prove this point.

In the native texts there is no tendency to be explicit in referring to characters or to cultural features. If an episode has to do with several characters, the speaker or actor in each instance is not always named. The listener is expected to know who is talking or acting, for it is apparently assumed that he is already familiar with the details of the story. (We have no check on the possibility of a greater specificity in the case of a new story being related to an unfamiliar audience.) Nor are there individual speech styles to identify certain characters.

171 The number of cultural features appearing in
538 the myths are few as compared with Basin tales, wherein many material objects are mentioned, or with Pomo myths which recount Coyote's creations and institutions. In Yokuts and Western Mono myths are items or incidents which may be understood through the culture, but are not always self-evident. The most important of these is the social pattern, Eagle as chief, Dove and Road Runner as messengers, Owl as doctor. A little episode describing an assembly called by Eagle to decide upon a seed-gathering expedition introduces two tales (p. 1; abstract 114); and Eagle's judiciary rôle also appears in Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (p. 2). Shamans' mercenary
[756] practices are exposed (abstracts 89, 93, 108, 109), and the slamming of their trays upon the ground (abstract 108) is their usual method of "shooting power." The power of jumping great distances, a shaman's ability, is directly mentioned in a Western Mono myth (tale 40), and is inferential in several others (tales 3, 4, 16).
[785 Fasting or observing a meat taboo is mentioned
262] in various tales, especially in one referring to
[796] the Jimson-weed ritual (abstract 131). Ceremonials such as the annual mourning ceremony, shamans' contest, snake dance, and bear dance are not mentioned, although one obscure reference is made to the feather ornaments worn by bear dancers (tale 14). Falcon's ill-luck at gambling (abstracts 90, 91, 93) is not due to the fact that his wife

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[9]The integration of mythical and actual social forms is discussed in Gayton, Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans, pp. 369-371.

[p.10-A]

●538 is betrayed, but to her pregnancy as a consequence of the betrayal. The "confession feast," the ritualistic recounting of an exotic experience, climaxes the Orpheus tales (abstracts 139-153).

[606] The rôle of parents-in-law as mediators in domestic quarrels is indicated in the Pleiades tales (tales 15, 33).

[525 526] The great gambling game, particularly for spectacular rivalry, was shinny. Of secondary importance, arrow shooting, lance throwing, racing, and the hand-game are mentioned as forms of contests.

[171] Hunting adventures and exploits, which are frequent in stories from the Basin, are ignored, as are almost all mundane occupations. The eating of clover and wild onions (tales 14, 15, 33, [362] 36; abstract 57), and seed gathering (p. 1; abstract 114) are spoken of, but rarely.

[576] Custom required one to call out when approaching a house. To draw near unannounced would arouse suspicion (mentioned in an abstracted text).

538 The sacred quality of tobacco is brought out
778 by Falcon's exclusive use of it as food and occasional references to its usage for accomplish-
[276] ing some superhuman task (tales 31, 34, 39; abstract 92). The common sacred talisman, a strand of eagle down, is mentioned (tales 33, 34, 53).

[533] Contact with one's supernatural power or guardian spirit through song is indicated in a few tales (tales 26, 43, 46).

538 It is not rewarding to recount further the incidents of culture in the stories: this résumé indicates the general nature of the cultural features exhibited.

Formalized structure of the tales is not always followed. The most common opening of a Yokuts story is with a statement: "People were living there" (taw xo·xo·hin mani· yokots) or "So-and-so was there" or "So-and-so was going along." Western Mono myths more often refer to [171] the time rather than the place, saying, "In olden times" or "Long ago" (manati· co·in) before taking up the action.

Closing phrases are not necessary. A few of Newman's texts end with "That is the end" or my own, taken in English, with "And that's all." But there is no indication of the "tying up" of a story reported for some people or a "call for [784] an early spring." The taboo on summer storytelling was known but thought of as unimportant, or as a logical consequence of habits rather than as a taboo at all. All of Newman's texts were recorded in the summer. My Michahai informant said that people naturally told stories in the winter evenings, in the summer young people [574] stayed outside and played. According to the same informant, any visitor in a house might tell stories or adventures. Boys and girls would ask for them if they dared, or hoped that conversa- [863] tion would evoke such recountings. Adolescent Michahai would go to a well-known storyteller's

538 house in the early evening and stay till they
[883] were "chased home."

171 It is apparent, however, that the "animal
538 transformation" episode serves as a closing incident. While this event is the subject of complete tales, fully developed, it appears in contracted form at the end of almost any myth. This is true of Yokuts and Western Mono particularly, and is somewhat less characteristic of Owens Valley Paiute, Miwok, and Pomo. As tales of more northerly groups are examined, this ending, describing a group transformation which signified the ending of one era and the beginning of the present, gives way to single transformations, either of one's self or another. This individual transformation blends into the Transformer Concept of Plateau-Northwest Coast distribution.

[533] Songs are more frequently introduced in Western Mono myths than in Yokuts, one trait among many which show the close kin of Mono tales with those of the Basin Shoshoneans.[10] On the other hand, conversation appears more often as a stylistic device in Yokuts myths.

538 The persons participating in the tales are
776 few, almost exclusively those "great ones" whose
825 lineages are important in actuality: Eagle, Falcon, Cougar, Coyote, Dove, Crow. Eagle is the creator, but is seldom an actor; there is never a hint that he is anything but wise, just, and powerful. Wolf is the creator or a participant in Western Mono and Yauelmani creation tales. Coyote plays a dual rôle, that of creator or, more often, assistant creator, and that of a dupe. Falcon,[11] the fighter and gambler, is the only person to be favored with a metaphorical title: he is often called "The Fearsome One" (ṭanyiṭit).[12]

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[10] Cf. Sapir, Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology.

171 [11] The simple form "Falcon" has been used
825 throughout as there is doubt in any given instance whether it is the prairie falcon or the peregrine falcon (duck hawk) which is meant. The Yokuts li'mik is supposed to be the prairie falcon (Falco mexicanus) which is identified with kini', the duck hawk (Falco peregrinus anatum), by the Western Mono. For the foothill Yokuts and the Mono mountaineers it is possible that the duck hawk is thought of as the hero. The two birds are not readily distinguishable: "The Prairie Falcon resembles the Duck Hawk in size and actions, though it is not as courageous and 'noble' as the latter .... Both Falcons nest on ledges or in caves of cliffs but the Duck Hawk's aerie commonly overlooks water, while the Prairie Falcon frequently nests in very arid country" (May, Hawks of North America, 107). (See Falcon's Home, abstract 86.)

136 [12] The peregrine falcon (duck hawk) "....is, perhaps the most highly specialized and superlatively well-developed flying organism on our planet today, combining in a marvellous degree the highest powers of speed and aerial adroitness with massive, warlike strength. A powerful, wild, majestic, independent bird, living on the choicest of clean, carnal food, plucked fresh

[p. 11-A]

538 His association with Crow is notable. The animal
776 characteristics of these persons are occasionally
825 pointed by their actions, as Buzzard's searching of ravines or Bottlefly's sniffing in all directions. Falcon's abstention from food, his eat-

[Text continued top page 11-B.- Analyst]

CULTURAL POSITION

114 Yokuts mythology, which was aptly character-
171 ized by Kroeber[14] in his pioneer work with Yokuts
538 tales and texts, sets a norm for the mythology
773 of the Central California folk-tale area. This area, as defined by Gayton,[15] is somewhat smaller than the Central California area of tales determined by Kroeber, which he apparently felt coincided with the Central California culture area as conceived by him at that time. That Yokuts should set the norm for the central area is in part due to the extensive territory which the Yokuts-speaking tribes occupied. Nor is it to
[197] be forgotten that the peripheries of the area are virtually within the bounds of the parental Penutian stock common to Maidu, Miwok, and Yokuts. Pomo to the northwest, Western Mono to the east, and Tübatulabal to the southeast, possess transitional phases of the Central Californian mythology.

171 The mythology deals with events and adven-
538 tures in the lives of a superhuman as well as
773 prehuman people who later transformed themselves into birds and animals. The concept of such a period and people is basic to all western North American Indian mythologic and religious beliefs, even when overshadowed by comparatively sumptuous theology and ritualism as in the Southwest. For the Yokuts, it is doubtful that their myths were ever ordered in that "system and sequence" which Dixon credited to Maidu mythology.[16] For us, with our supernormal historical sense, it seems bizarre to deal with the tales in any other than a pseudochronological order. And I am sure any Yokuts, if pushed on the point, would
773 feel that the creation tales should come first,
115 merely as a matter of logic. The Michahai in-
538 formant thought that the acquisition of sun and

[136] from the air or the surface of the waters, rearing its young in the rocks of dangerous mountain cliffs, claiming all the atmosphere as its domain, and fearing neither beast that walks nor bird that flies, it is the very embodiment of noble rapacity and lonely freedom" (May, Hawks of North America, p. 109, quoting G. H. Thayer).

[15] Although "character study" is rarely the object of native tales, there is a Miwok myth (Gifford, MN:323) which seems to have no other purpose than the vivid description of a number of animals. It is superbly done.

[14] Indian Myths of South Central California, pp. 192-194, 195-198.

[15] Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, p. 595.

[16] System and Sequence in Maidu Mythology.

[Text continued bottom page 11-B.—Analyst]

[p.11-B]

538 ing of tobacco for supernatural power, and the
796 fastidious eating of a little liver by Cougar's
825 child while Coyote's brats glut themselves, reflect cultural attitudes as well as describing characteristic animal action.[13]

[FOOTNOTE 13 IS ON p.11-A — ANALYST]

CULTURAL POSITION

[115] fire followed upon creation; but this man, blind
538 for decades, was exceptionally reflective. For
773 all the other stories there is certainly no notion of a temporal scheme. The "prehistoric" era was thought to have ended with the transformation of the prehumans to animals, yet there is no suggestion that the story of the transformation closes a mythologic cycle. On the contrary, while the event may be told as a discrete tale, it may be appended to any story, as often to that of the creation itself as any other, without chronologic reference to any of those intervening events embodied in other tales. As stated above, the transformation to animals incident really constitutes a literary coda.

171 The creation tale of the Yokuts is brief as
538 compared with those of surrounding tribes. Its
773 essence is the earth-diver incident which, while it may occur, is not emphasized elsewhere in the west. Equally distinctive is the Eagle creator who relegates Coyote to a secondary place, yet is not the so-called "high god" postulated for northern California cultures. Neither do the Yokuts believe in a series of creations and destructions of the universe. In the words of a Wukchumni, "This is the first and only world--there has never been any other." Nor are the creation of man and the origin of cultural institutions matters of interest; they are touched upon briefly, if at all, which contrasts with Pomo and Maidu on the north and Luiseño and Diegueño to the south. The chief points made about mankind are: that he was not permitted to be immortal, his hands were patterned on Lizard's, and he was given, by tribal designation, a particular spot on earth, a "native heath." So much for man and his ways.

171 The Death Controversy tale is told by the
538 Yokuts; the Western Mono add the sequel making the originator of death the first sufferer.

Theft of the Sun (Light), known in the northern section of California, was related in full by only one, the Michahai-Waksachi informant. The Theft of Fire fares better, being known to all. But again, rather than following the relay theft formula of northern Californian and Basin variants, a single thief, usually Jack Rabbit, turns the trick. Eagle arranged for deer to be hunted, but by raising an evil smell Coyote frightened them away, just as he did in Great Basin stories of the Scattering of Deer.

The more novelistic tales which recount adventures of the animal people focus their interest

[Text continued on page 14-A.-Analyst]

[p.14-A]

171 upon Falcon. Falcon's popularity is unquestion-
● 538 ably strongest among the Yokuts and Western Mono,
yet he is a person of some consequence in Pomo,
Miwok, Salinan, and Western Mono myths, wherein
his rôle is often at least daring if not unde-
featedly heroic. It must be acknowledged that
[184] the tales of Falcon emanate from people of hill
or mountain country. How far he was popular with
Yokuts of the plains, lakes, and sloughs (Tachi,
Telamni, Chunut, Wowol) is a question, for the
mythology recorded from these groups is hope-
lessly incomplete. With these people it is
possible that Coyote or some other held a more
elevated status.

Typical of Yokuts and also shared wholly or in part by Western Mono, Tübatulabal, Miwok, and Pomo are these tales: Growing Rock, Pleiades and Taurus, Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (Sister, Father), Deserted Children, Contest [at shinny] with the Cannibal, Coyote Steal's Cougar's Child, and Pursuit of a Dead Wife. The notion that Thunder is a pair of twin boys (rather than a thunderbird), and is in some way associated with dogs, is held by these tribal groups, though it is not always embodied in a tale.

A true Coyote trickster cycle seems to be lacking among Yokuts, Western Mono, and Miwok, although for the Yokuts both Newman's and Latta's collections have augmented the meager group of Coyote stories. If to the Yokuts, as to us, these tales seem more humorous than consequential, it may be that neither Kroeber nor I probed deep enough to get them. However, they do not bulk large in recorded collections from Northfork Mono, Miwok, and Salinan, and their comparative absence from the Central California area may be real.

Also absent is the widespread tale of Bear and Deer.

Yokuts and Tübatulabal have Mikiti Kills Bear, their local and far-fetched variant of Old Woman's Grandson. Falcon frequently is substituted for Mikiti; and so unique is it in Yokuts mythology to have a named character, that I suspect the name Mikiti to be some variant or diminutive of limik (falcon), although in this contention Newman cannot offer support with any positive linguistic evidence.

Yauelmani Yokuts myths, as exemplified by Newman's collection, are closely related to those of the Tübatulabal. This is expectable. But whether their rather Shoshonean quality (as manifested in such specific details as rock-encased condor, anus adviser, rolling skull) is aboriginal or the result of later reservation contacts cannot be established. The Shoshonean tinge in Yauelmani tales is slightly more than would be expectable from intertribal relationship of the two linguistic stocks in olden times, yet so little is known of aboriginal culture and conditions in the southern San Joaquin Valley that what would be expectable is largely conjecture.

[p.14-B]

171 The mythology of the Western Mono, represented by Gifford's collection from the Northfork Mono and Gayton's from the Wobonuch and Waksachi, clearly shows its connection with that of the Great Basin. Specific connections have been pointed out for the Northfork by Gifford.[17] On the whole, Northfork mythology is more individualistic than that of the Wobonuch: many of the Northfork tales have no cognates among their neighbors, whether Yokuts, Miwok, or Owens Valley Paiute.[18] More removed from contact with Yokuts, characteristically Central Californian features are few, whereas the Wobonuch and Waksachi while retaining their Shoshonean tales and incidents have adopted more whole-heartedly those of their Penutian neighbors along with other phases of Yokuts culture.

The Western Mono, either Northfork, Wobonuch, or Waksachi, share the following tales and incidents with Yokuts: Earth-diver Creation of Land, Theft of Fire (single thief), Contest [at shinny] with the Cannibal, Growing Rock, Condor Steals Falcon's Wife (Sister), Pursuit of a Dead Wife, and Transformation to Animals. The Transformation to Animals is used as a closing incident, and it is significant that a Wobonuch informant, when recounting it, called several of the animals by their Yokuts names, whereas he had previously been speaking pure Shoshonean.

The Mono-speaking tribes--the Northfork, the Wobonuch on the west of the Sierra Nevada, and the Owens Valley and Mono Lake Paiute on the east--show close affiliation in the mutual possession of certain tales and incidents. These are: Hainano and Pumkwesh; Coyote and Sun Race; the tale of a girl who escapes a giant and becomes the mother of men (Walking Skeleton, of the Northfork, The Woman and the Giants, of the Mono Lake Paiute, and Thunder Twins, of the Wobonuch); and particular variations in the Contest with the Cannibal. These are shared in part with Moapa and Paviotso, though as we should expect, it is the Eastern Mono who exhibit the closest relationship with the mythology of the Great Basin.

The sample of Washo mythology which is on record suggests a fairly close relationship with Mono as well as with Paviotso mythology. There is a hint of similarity, an atmosphere which is difficult to analyze or define--and to do so is indeed outside the realm of this paper--in common in the mythologies emanating from the eastern highland region of California, from the Mono-speaking people northward including Washo, Achomawi-Atsugewi, and Modoc. But from the Mono southward, the mythologies of Tübatulabal, Kawaiisu, and Serrano lean toward the southern Basin type which includes Chemehuevi, Walapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai.

[17] Western Mono Myths, pp. 303-305.

[18] It is for this reason that only comparable myths have been abstracted for presentation in this paper.

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[p.15-A]

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This presentation of Yokuts mythology in relation to that of its neighbors is not intended to give the impression that this mythology in toto is segregated from the rest of California folk tales. It is firmly enmeshed in the fabric of contiguous western mythology by means of common elements and incidents. But in contrast to their neighbors, who toward the north participate more and more in the mythology of the Southern Plateau and Basin, and toward the south

[p. 15-B]

171 in that of the Southern Basin and Yumans, the
538 Yokuts are the focus of a small area with limited
773 affiliations. The contrast is particularly acute when we envisage the sweeping distribution of cognate tales from Plateau, through the Basin, and into the Southwest, which are absent from the Central California mythologic area.

Supporting data for the generalizations present in this section are to be found in the comparative notes with the abstracts. 1/

1/ [THE COMPARATIVE NOTES AND THE ABSTRACTS HAVE NOT BEEN PROCESSED FOR THE FILES - ANALYST]